16: Müller--228 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 175

While, at the turn of the 17th century, the aborigines of Formosa occupied the entire island, today they form only a fraction of the total population. The hordes of Chinese immigrants from the mainland opposite, chiefly from the Fukien Province, have gradually pushed the original inhabitants towards the central and eastern mountains. There are today approximately 2 1/2 million Chinese and nearly 100,000 Japanese on the island, while the number of natives is, at the most, 120,000.

16: Müller--228 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 171, 174, 197

While we have no tangible evidence concerning the origin of the aborigines of Formosa, we may assume from their physical appearance, customs, language, and level of intelligence that they belong to the racial group of the Malayans. We may therefore conclude that they originally came from the Malayan Archipelago. Although they have numerous traits in common, as a result of their derivation from one single group, their development has proceeded along different lines, partly because the chains of huge mountains have split them into different groups. Their language especially shows so many divergencies that some of the tribes cannot understand each other.

16: Müller--228 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101

When we sum up the common and the individual characteristics of all the aborigines o
Formosa we find that they are divided into nine groups:

1. Ataiyal Group
2. Vonum Group
3. Tso'o Group
4. Tsarisen Group
5. Paiwan Group
6. Pyuma Group
7. Amis Group
8. Pepo Group
9. Yami Group (Botel Tobago)

It must be remembered, however, that there are subdivisions within each group, in accordance with differences in families, tribes, and combinations of tribes.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 609 Pepo-hoan

Among the groups listed...[MC: see previous paragraphs in 101 for the author's group division of the aborigines.] the Pepo no longer have the external characteristics of the aborigines; in their manner and customs they have become culturally assimilated by the Chinese to such an extent that today it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two. They live in the eastern and central districts of the island, and a large number of them also inhabit the western plains. They are on friendly terms with the Chinese, although on the whole the two groups do not actually intermingle. This explains the name given to them by the Chinese, Pepo-hoan, that is, natives of the plain. Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16; Müller--229 [2]　U-3　(no date) 1910　Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177

Another distinction made by the Chinese between groups of natives is that of Seiban and Jukuban; the first refers to those natives who remained independent, the second to those who had become subjugated. The latter includes, besides the Pepohoan, the Pyuma and Amis groups; although these have not been assimilated entirely by the Chinese, they nevertheless show a certain degree of civilization.

16: Müller--229 [3]　U-3　(no date) 1910　Formosan Aborigines
116, 141, 142, 164

The physical characteristics which all the aborigines of Formosa have in common are: stiff black hair, prominent cheekbones, black iris, eyes of the Malayan type, a snub nose with wide nostrils, yellowish complexion, sparse beard, and medium height. The size of the skull (cephalic index) is between 79 and 83; they are brachycephalic. Although their build is not especially strong, they are agile and have a great deal of endurance. They are, however, subject to climatic diseases such as malaria.

16: Müller--229 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 197

Their language belongs to the Malayan group of languages....

16: Müller--229[5]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 191, 197

Among the Pepo the Saisiett tribe is the only one which has retained the old language. The others speak Chinese, the Amoy and Hakka dialects, using only a few Malayan terms. Most of them have forgotten their original language almost entirely, although it was still spoken little more than a century ago. Only those Pepo tribes listed under Pazzehe and Kareowan speak both languages.

16: Müller--229 [6] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 212

The aborigines of Formosa do not have a system of written symbols.

16: Müller--229 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361, 592, 619, 643

The aborigines of Formosa are a settled people and live in communities. The Ataiyal tribe is organized on the basis of nuclear families, the Vonum, Tso'o, Pyuma, and Amis tribes on the basis of composite families. Each tribe has a chief as its head. There are some tribes and federations of tribes which have two head chiefs.

16: Müller--229-230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643

The office of the chieftain of the tribe or federation is either hereditary or based on election. Sometimes his power is absolute, [230] sometimes he must have the consent of the tribal elders in all the more important decisions that concern the tribe.

16: Müller--230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561, 646

In all those tribes where there is a tendency toward autonomy, there is a marked division according to age levels among the men who hold the vote.

16: Müller--230 [2]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805   Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

16: Müller--230 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 595

Most of the aborigines of Formosa are monogamous.

16: Müller--230 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

Marriage is based on certain definite ceremonies which vary with each tribe. Among the Ataiyal and the Tso'o there are traces of the former custom of marriage by capture. Among the Ataiyal and in some of the Vonum tribes, the marriage ceremony consists of a contest between the bridegroom and a supposed rival. Among other tribes of the Vonum group marriage is based on an exchange (wife stealing), and among the Tsarisen, Paiwan, Pyuma, and Amis tribes the marriage ceremony consists of an exchange of presents.

16: Müller--230 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 586

Among the Formosan aborigines marriage is for life, but divorce is possible if it meets with the approval of the tribe.

16: Müller--230 [6]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 587

It rarely happens among the Formosan aborigines that one party remarries after the death of the other.

16: Müller--230 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 582

Marriage between near relatives on the whole does not occur among the Formosan aborigines.

16: Müller--230 [8] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593

Husband and wife have the same rights among the Formosan aborigines. Life within the family is peaceful and harmonious; parents and children are greatly attached to each other.

16: Müller--230 [9]　U-3 ,　(no date) 1910　Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 627

It is a tradition in native family life that the murder of a parent must be revenged (blood vengeance).

16: Müller--230 [10]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 736, 768

The family always takes care, in the most generous way possible, of the widows and orphans of its sib.

16: Müller--230 [11] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 611

The ascendants and descendants of the third generation are still considered close relatives.

16: Müller--230 [12] . U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 593, 574

It is because of their aversion to all domestic disharmony that the laws of hospitality are sacred to the aborigines. Thus the pursued may find refuge in the house of the pursuer and has nothing to fear until he leaves.

16: Müller--230 [13]	U-3	(no date) 1910	Formosan Aborigines
116, 846

Childbirth usually proceeds with so little difficulty that the mother resumes her tasks on the following day; for one month after the delivery, she avoids the heavy labor in the fields. Usually the natives perform certain ceremonies, based on quasi-religious superstitions, after the birth of a child; this consists in driving the evil spirit out of the house and similar rites.

16: Müller--230 [14] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 845

Among the Vonum, Tso'o, Tsarisen, and Paiwan tribes, the birth of twins is regarded as a misfortune and the second child is killed.

16: Müller--230-231 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553, 551

After a certain amount of time has elapsed, the child is given a name. Among some tribes [231] the custom of lending names is practiced, and only certain names may be used, so that there are many people of the same name within one village. Often the child is named after the father.

16: Müller--231 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 553 Tayal

Among the Ataiyal group, who do not have any surnames, the name of the child is followed by the name of the father. If there is a surname in the family it follows the proper name.

16: Müller--231 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 881, 882, 721

A solemn ceremony is held when the child comes of age. Among the Ataiyal tribes this may take place only after he has undertaken his first successful headhunting expedition. Among the Pyuma and Amis tribes boys and young men must first pass through a period of preparation; they are separated from their parents and live in a special hut under strict supervision. Women may not approach the house of these bachelors. Before the boys are considered of age they partake in a ceremony which may be likened to the practice of knighting. The chieftain gently hits the seat of the boy with a bamboo pole.

16: Müller--231 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 764

The family shows manifestations of sincere grief upon the death of one of its members. They bury the body either in the yard around the house or outside of their property. The grave goods consist of objects which the deceased has used during life.

16: Müller--231 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 765

After the funeral it is customary that the family does not go out for some time. They do not wear any ornaments. The Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines even wear mourning apparel.

16; Müller--231 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 766

If someone has died an unnatural death or has been killed, he is regarded as someone afflicted with evil; he is buried either in the place where he died or in a concealed place as far from the community as possible.

16: Müller--231 [6]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 766   Pepo-hoan

In former times, some of the Pepo tribes wrapped their corpses in a shroud and threw them in the river. In one tribe the corpse was placed in front of a fire in the hut until it dried out; at the same time a gay banquet was held. The corpse was left in the house [illegible] the family moved to a new residence.

16: Müller--231 [7] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 361

Most of the aborigines of Formosa build their huts at a considerable distance from each other, so that one house may just be seen from another.

16: Müller--231 [8]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 342

The houses of the aborigines are made chiefly of wood and bamboo. There are also stone structures, however, and among the Ataiyal aborigines there are even cave dwellings. Most of the houses have roofs made of rushes and consist of only one room. Some houses, however, have partitions dividing the interior into several rooms. The entrance is usually in the center of one of the long sides. Most houses have two windows on each of the long sides; shutters have hinges made of rattan stalks.

16: Müller--231-232 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 513

There is no furniture and no utensils of any kind in the interior of the aboriginal hut, since the natives use them only as a shelter from the storm and rain. There are no boards [232] on the floor. In each of the four corners there is a simple wooden compartment which serves as a bed. At night they place cloths, which they themselves have made, over these and use an ordinary cloth of the kind used for garments as a blanket.

16: Müller--232 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291

The clothing of the natives varies with each group. There are two articles of clothing, however, which are in use everywhere:

1. An exterior garment, with or without sleeves, with a collar which is open in front. The women are always careful to button this in front, while the men wear a square stomacher.

2. A rectangular cape, the sides of which are about 70 to 80 centimeters long. This may be worn by slinging it over the shoulder on one side and under the arm on the other and tying the two upper corners together with the tassels which are attached for this purpose. Another method is to cover both shoulders and tie the corners together behind the neck.

16: Müller--232 [2]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292, 431

The women wear a broad loincloth which covers their thighs. The loincloth of the men consists of a piece of cloth 60 to 70 centimeters long and 50 centimeters wide which they tie around the loins so that the two ends cover their genital organs. The loincloth, which as a rule is dyed dark blue, and the manner in which it is worn, indicates to what tribe the wearer belongs and whether he comes from a family of low or high standing. Loincloths are often given as personal presents. Among the Ataiyal group there is one tribe which uses only leaves as loincloths, and several tribes which do not cover themselves at all.

Since that aborigines always cut and sew in straight lines, the shape of the garment never fits the body.

16: Müller--232 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 292

While most of the aborigines go barefoot, the women wrap a plain piece of cloth around their calves for special occasions, such as a festival. Among some tribes of the Tso'o group the men and women wear a type of sandal made of the hide of animals, on bad roads.

Only the men cover their heads. For the most part they wear an ordinary bowl-shaped cap, which they also use as a measure of capacity. The shield on the cap is worn in back to protect the neck. They also use caps made of bearskin, of the head of deer, and of leather. Among the aborigines of the Tso'o and Paiwan groups the caps sometimes have ornaments consisting of tassels or the feathers of roosters. The cap serves as an insignia of rank.

16: Müller--232-233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301

The chief aboriginal ornaments are the following:

1. Bracelets made of brass, worn by both men and women. They get the brass wire from the Chinese in exchange for other goods. Sometimes the bracelets consist of two tusks of a boar which are tied together at the ends. Bracelets are often used as hypothecs to confirm a promise.

2. Ear pendants of bamboo sticks from which a tassel may be suspended. Both men and women wear these; they insert them in the lobes of their ears. [233] They pierce the lobes with a pin and gradually enlarge the opening.

3. Necklaces made of shells, the teeth of animals, dried berries, imitation berries, beads, etc.

4. Hairpins made of shell. Among the Tso'o aborigines this is the customary gift for brides.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--233 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 262

The chief articles of food among the aborigines of Formosa are millet, sweet potatoes, and bananas. They also, but less frequently, eat venison and pork, as well as rice.

16: Müller--233 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 252

They cook all their food except fruits.

16: Müller--233 [4]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 264

They use their third and fourth fingers for eating and wash their hands before and after meals. To take the food out of the pot they use a simple wooden spoon and a spatula.

16: Müller--233 [5]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 273

They make alcoholic beverages, of which they consume quantities, out of millet. For fermentation they use the pollen of the Chenopodiaceae or white yeast which they get from the Chinese. Among some tribes saliva takes the place of yeast: the women chew the millet before the wine is prepared.

16: Müller--233 [6]　U-3　(no date) 1910　Formosan Aborigines
116, 276, 857

The natives grow their own tobacco, but they use the leaves without any preparation. All the aborigines of Formosa smoke a great deal. Even very young boys and girls constantly have a pipe in their mouth. The pipes are made of bamboo.

Many of the natives also chew betel, which is treated with a solution of lime. This practice blackens the teeth, which is considered an attractive feature.

16: Müller--233 [7]	U-3	(no date) 1910	Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437

Firearms consist chiefly of Mauser rifles or modern hand arms which they obtain through barter from the Chinese. They take off everything that tends to make the rifle heavy, sometimes even the sight. They also get gunpowder and ammunition from the Chinese. Guns with matchlocks, which formerly were used by everyone, today are hardly used at all.

16: Müller--233-234 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411

Spears are used for bear-hunting, chiefly in the central and southern regions. [234] They get the iron spearheads from the Chinese.

16: Müller--234 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411

Sometimes the natives still use bows and arrows in battles, but in the north they use them only to hunt birds. They often use poisoned arrowheads.

16: Müller--234 [2]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 293

Swords exist in all sizes and shapes, and there are some with curved blades. They make only the sheaths themselves; one side consists of wood, the other of wiring. They often suspend the hair of humans or bears from the point of the sheath; on most swords there are grooves to mark the number of heads which have been cut off with that sword. The sword is the constant companion of the aborigines of Formosa; they wear it on a string around the waist, and it serves as an ornament as well as a weapon.

16: Müller--234 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 534, 535, 727

The musical instruments of the aborigines are the following:

1. Jew's harp; boys and girls play this instrument and dance at the same time. They either dance alone, with rhythmic motions and jumping up and down now and then, or they dance in groups. The latter takes place chiefly after headhunting expeditions; the young people form a circle and dance around the head.
2. A flute made of bamboo, played by men. This is also played chiefly after headhunting expeditions.

16: Müller--234 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 361

The aborigines of Formosa cultivate millet, rice, and vegetables, but on the whole they do little work on their fields. They rely on the beneficent spirits of their ancestors to further the growth of plants, and they neither clear the fields nor fertilize them. If the soil ceases to be fertile, they leave their land and settle somewhere else. They have no agricultural implements save a hoe with a short shaft. Added to this is the poor soil in most regions, the steep mountains, and the rocky ground, so that the total agricultural produce is lamentably small.

16: Müller--234 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 437

Since the amount the aborigines harvest falls far short of the amount they need, they are dependent to a large extent on barter with the Chinese. The articles which they are able to offer in exchange consist of the antlers and hide of stags, as well as cloth which they themselves have made; for these the Chinese give them rice and other articles of nourishment.

16: Müller--234-235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436

The aborigines are not familiar with the use of money. For trade among themselves they use small pieces of shell money in the shape of beads which they carry on a string. The value of their currency is determined by the bintuan, a square piece of cloth as long and wide as the lower part of the arm, covered with shell beads of the type used for currency. One bintuan is worth about eight Mark. A woman is worth about 250 bintuan, a brass kettle about 1/2 bintuan, etc. Today these coins are no longer [236] made and they are used only for very important transactions such as buying a wife, a rifle, or for paying a penalty.

The usual medium of exchange today is cloth.

16: Müller--235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304

The shell money is also used as ornaments for holiday garments or the clothing of chieftains.

16: Müller--235 [2]   U-3   (no date) 1910   **Formosan Aborigines**
116, 531

The artistic impulses of the aborigines of Formosa manifest themselves only in weaving and wood carving.

16: Müller--235 [3]　U-3　(no date) 1910　Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 314

For weaving the aborigines use small, very primitive hand looms made, for the most part, of camphor wood. They use the fiber of ramie plants, which grow in abundance on this island. The Ataiyal aborigines differentiate between four kinds of ramie, kigi barai, kigipapa, yakai yogai, and katailok. Raw hemp is called mukatailok, hemp which has been bleached by wringing it out in water is called mukabenakan, and spun hemp is called wikui.

16: Müller--235 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 531

They use their hands for weaving, or sometimes small hand spindles. The resulting textile is very durable and the designs are attractive. They often take out the red yarn from woolens which they obtain through barter and weave these into their designs. All the patterns they use in weaving consist of symmetrical arrangements of geometrical figures, arranged for the most part in parallel lines. Sometimes they picture animals in symmetrical shape. The colors most often used are red, white, black, blue, and yellow.

16: Müller--235 [5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 322, 531

Designs similar to these used in weaving are also found on the carved wooden figures which are used to decorate ear pendants, pipes, etc.

16: Müller--235 [6]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116, 28, 32

The other native industries, besides weaving, are tanning, basket-weaving, dyeing, and pottery of clay or earthenware. They also know how to fashion wood, bones, and shells into objects and they make their own nets; some tribes even know how to make iron implements.

16: Müller--235 [7]   U-3   (no date) 1910   Formosan Aborigines
116; 372, 178

For firemaking the natives for the most part use firestone, but they also have matches which they obtain through barter. The aborigines on Botel Tobago obtain fire by rubbing two sticks of wood together. This method was used on the main island in former times and among the Tsarisen and Vonum tribes is still employed today for certain religious festivals, especially for lighting the sacred flame. Many of the Tsarisen and Paiwan aborigines also use a fire drill.

16: Müller--235-236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 671, 673, 681

The concept of crime is not unknown among the natives. They judge misdemeanors according to ancient traditions; action is considered a moral offense if it is not in accordance with the principles held by the community as a whole. There is no written law; the punishment for each crime is [236] considered individually. No form of punishment, however, may exceed a certain degree of severity. Sometimes the offender may pay a fine to take the place of the punishment designated.

16: Müller--236 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 681, 628 Tayal

Among the Ataiyal aborigines the following are the chief forms of punishment:

1. A small fine, for offenses such as trespassing in the fields.

2. Beating, used chiefly for personal insults. This may be administered symbolically, by striking the offender's arm very gently, or actually, with sticks.

3. Capital punishment, chiefly applied if the offender has murdered a relative or committed adultery, etc.

4. Confiscation of property and plundering of houses, applied against an entire tribe.

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

16: Müller--236 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 675

Various formalities are employed for contracts among the Taiwan aborigines. One custom which is common among all tribes is to bury a stone in a secret place; both parties bury it together and neither may touch it during the time the contract is in effect. Sometimes one of the parties cuts a branch from a tree and throws it to the other, who at that moment cuts the grass with his sword. *

* A chieftain once offered me a pledge of security by biting a bullet out of a cartridge and giving it to me as a hypothec.

Contracts are held sacred among the aborigines, and it rarely occurs that one of the parties breaks the contract.

16: Müller--236-237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 828

The aborigines of Formosa...hold the following beliefs:

1. Death destroys only the body; the soul remains immortal.

2. Dreams are due to the souls of departed which appear to the dreamer in his sleep. [237]

3. The souls of the departed inhabit certain definite places, in the forest, under a tree, or in imaginary places.

4. The spirits of the departed influence the fate of human beings for good or evil, and all fortune or misfortune is dependent on them.

16: Müller--237 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 774, 775

The religion... of the aborigines is founded on a belief in spirits, although these are not represented by idols or other tangible images. Phenomena of nature, such as the sun, moon, and stars, bear a relation to these concepts in their imagination, since these are thought to represent a special kind of soul. A rainbow is a bridge for spirits, the pulse is the soul of the hand. Wherever one goes one is surrounded by spirits. Even shadows represent spirits. Closely connected with this is their belief in ghosts; these are believed to have the appearance of human beings, with long hair and long, claw-like nails, and they jump up and down. They bite people's necks. This belief is held by the Ataiyal aborigines. Those of the Tsarisen tribes believe that the mountains are inhabited by dwarfs who challenge human beings to fight with them.

16: Müller--237 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 753, 791, 775, 787

The belief in the evil power of spirits is deeply rooted in native imagination. Sickness and other misfortunes are all believed to be the work of evil spirits. If one is careful, however, one may recognize the signs of his approach. The flight of birds or their call, even sneezing or gas in the stomach are thought to be signs of the presence of spirits. With the aid of soothsayers and dream specialists it is possible sometimes to escape their evil designs. Once they have taken hold of their victim, however, it is difficult to elude their grasp.

16: Müller--237 [3] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 755, 791

If a member of the household is taken seriously ill, the desire of the spirits must be, learned first of all. In one tribe of the Ataiyal group it is customary to call a female soothsayer to the bedside of the sick man; there she consults the fates. She holds a small bamboo cane between her knees and balances a round stone on it. If she is able to keep it from falling from the cane by moving her right hand, the evil spirit will not be able to harm the sick man. If the stone falls off, however, the sick man's fate is sealed.

16: Müller--237 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 782, 789

There are numerous methods used to exorcise evil spirits. Often they are appeased with offerings; thus, if a man has recovered from a disease, he sacrifices a pig, etc. At other occasions, especially if the evil spirits have sown discord among a group or caused an epidemic, such as smallpox, they try to drive the evil spirit into a pig; then they cut off the ears of the pig and finally burn it so that the evil spirit is believed to be destroyed altogether.

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 769

Just as all possible means are used to prevent the mischief of evil spirits, so everything is done to obtain the favor and blessing of the beneficent spirits. The natives, therefore, devote special festivals to the spirits of their ancestors.

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 197

[MC: A comparative table of numbers from 1 to 10 in the various Formosan Aboriginal dialects has been omitted from the files. However, the tribal classification system on which this table was based has been included below. This table was obtained by Müller from a Japanese who lived in the interior of Formosa and is not the result of Müller's own research.]

Atayal.............	A)	Ataiyal	(W)
	B)	"	(O)
	C)	"	(Taroko)
Vonum.............	D)	Vonum	
	E)	"	
	F)	"	
Tso'o.............	G)	Tso'o	(N)
	H)	"	(S)
	I)	"	
Tsarisen...........	J)	Tsarisen	
Paiwan.............	K)	Paiwan	
Pyuma..............	L)	Pyuma	
Tsarisen...........	M)	Taroma	
Amis...............	N)	Amis	
Pepo...............	O)	Saisiett	
Yami...............	P)	Yami	

Pepo......	Q)	Makattao
	R)	Siraiya
	S)	Loa
	T)	Poavosa
	U)	Arikun
	V)	Vupuran
	W)	Pazzehe
	X)	Taokas
	Y)	Ketanganan (1)
	Z)	Kareowan
	A)	Kuvarawan
	B)	Pepo

(1) Ketangapan?

16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

16: Müller--240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines-12
116, 769, 796

In Polysia, the festival in honor of the ancestral spirits is somewhat different. On the first day there is a race for the boys, and the victor is given a red flat. On the second day the people assemble in the chieftain's house. There they knead viscous rice with their hands in a solemn fashion and give it the shape of a fish; the chieftain then cuts off the head and tail of the fish and distributes the body among those present. He puts the head and tail in a basket which he attaches to a bundle of Calamus. [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] After that he leads the people to the sacred tree; everyone carries a single Calamus reed. A huge stone lies under the tree.* Then the rites connected with the offering begin. The young men present their Calamus to the chieftain and then turn around. The chieftain places his own offering of Calamus and rice and that of the others on the sacred stone, murmuring incantations at the same time. Then he pushes

* In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

his spear into the lower part of the tree trunk, and at the same time all the young men run home with loud shouts. On the third day of the festival, they hunt for stags. They make an offering of the stag, or, if they have not been successful, of a pig, to the spirits of their ancestors. The fourth and last day of the festival is a gay one; the people eat, drink, and dance as long as they can.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

16: Müller--241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 789, 775

Since the aborigines of Formosa are extremely superstitious, it is only natural that they have other reasons for headhunting. Its function in trial by ordeal has already been discussed. Among some tribes of the Ataiyal group, headhunting is also a necessary preparation for the festivals in honor of ancestors. It is also used as a kind of fetish for exorcizing evil spirits. Some of the aborigines believe that the soul of the man who has been killed in this way becomes subject to the power of the man who has killed him.

16: Müller--241 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 727

The method used for headhunting is the following:

As a rule the hunter hides near a road and there waits for a victim; often he must wait for days and has little food with him. He knows from experience that whoever approaches this region will scent danger at the slightest sound and take precautions, and therefore uses the following ruse: he steps on a twig and shoots his victim at the moment when the latter stops to find out where the noise came from. If the victim is hit, the hunter rushes out of his hiding place and cuts off the head.

The natives either keep the heads on racks which are made for that purpose, or they suspend them from the roof of the huts. Some tribes preserve the skulls of animals which they have killed in the same way.

17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114

"A search for anthropological material in western languages on the aborigines of Formosa discloses very little. Such writings as exist are for the most part old and have been executed by untrained observers. Formosan folklore in European languages, as far as has been determined by a fairly extensive search, is extremely limited. (1) To

1. Except for brief references in general works, only the following articles on Formosan folklore have been found: Asai Erin, A Study of the Yami Language (Leiden: Universiteits-boekhandel en antiquariaat, J. Ginsberg, 1936); G. Taylor, 'Folklore of Aboriginal Formosa,' Folklore Journ., V (1887): 130-53; Otto Scheerer, 'Sagen der Atayalen auf Formosa,' Zeitschr. f. eingebor. Sprach., XXII, Hft. 2, 3 (1932). (Six folk-tales.)

my knowledge virtually no attempt has been made to correlate Formosan folklore with that of other areas of the world. (2)

2. An unavailable article in English by Arundel Del Re in Il Marco Polo (Shanghai, ca. 1939) is reported to deal with the religious concepts of the Formosan aborigines and other peoples of Southeast Asia as expressed in their mythology."

17: Norbeck--1 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 121, 144, 171

"The similarity of the Formosan aborigines to various other Indonesian or southeast Asian peoples in physical type, culture, and language has been frequently noted, but no thorough study of the Formosan groups has as yet been made by a westerner. This paper presents translations from Japanese of folk tales of the Atayal tribe of north Formosa. The tales reveal an affinity with the mythology of other Indonesian and southeast Asian groups; the most noteworthy resemblance, which is close to the point of identity in some instances, is with the folklore of the mountain tribes of northern Luzon."

17; Norbeck--1-2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 114, 127

"It may be well to note that interior Formosa, still little known to the western world, is in actuality one of the better-known areas of the world in Japanese administrative and scholarly circles. After the acquisition of Formosa by Japan in 1895 foreign researchers were discouraged from study [2] there. The languages barrier, extremely rough terrain, prevalence of tropical diseases, and the existence of the custom of head-hunting also effectively barred Japanese ethnologists until about 1930, although various Japanese governmental agencies concerned with the aborigines had produced a substantial number of works since shortly after the turn of the century. With the gradual acculturation of the wild tribes, extensive field work was begun in 1930 under the direction of the late Professor Utsurikawa Nenozō of Taihoku University.

As a result of this field work a considerable number of works were published in journal and book form in Japanese, among them a work covering the mythology of all of the interior tribes by Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin. (3) The translations given here are all from the part of this work executed by Ogawa, former head of the Linguistic Institute of Taihoku University, Taihoku, Formosa. Other available Japanese works on

3. Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin, Taiwan Takasagozoku Densetsu Shū ('Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes') (Tokyo Tokō Shoin, 1935).

17: Norbeck--1-2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 114, 127

Formosan mythology (4) are essentially free paraphrases of the tales collected by

4. See Bibliography.

Ogawa and Asai."

17: Norbeck--2 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 121, 127

"Professor Ogawa's work, [MC: on the mythology of the interior tribes, translations of which have been used by Norbeck in the present study] prepared from material gathered directly in the field, appears to be meticulously executed and contains considerable linguistic data. Unfortunately, all of the tales are removed from ethnographic context. Professor Ogawa, in fact, states that he considers his work to be primarily of linguistic value. For an analytic study of primitive folklore, an ethnological knowledge of the people concerned is of course imperative. The meager information gained from the available works in European languages and from a cursory examination of Japanese sources at hand is inadequate for such a study and, therefore, this paper is devoted principally to the comparison of tale motifs with those of other areas."

17: Norbeck--2-3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 174

'The tribes which inhabit the interior of Formosa, an area comprising approximately one-half of the total island, are of preponderantly Malay or unspecialized Mongoloid stock, and the present peoples are thought to have resulted from successive waves [3] of migration. Although considerable variation exists among the tribes, all are members of the of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock, and in physical type and culture resemble peoples of southeast Asia, the Philippines, and other Indonesian areas."

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 175, 177

"The Japanese classify the Formosan aborigines into two groups, representing neither ethnic nor tribal divisions: the Seiban ('wild' or 'raw' aborigines) and the Jukuban ('civilized' or 'ripe' aborigines). These terms are taken over from the earlier Chinese Sek-huan and Chin-huan. Both groups originally fell under the classification of 'wild aborigines,' but with acculturation through the centuries from China, Holland, and Japan a number of the tribes or members of tribes (the present Jukuban) largely abandoned their native cultures and languages, and, adopting principally Formosan Chinese culture, lived in amity with the Chinese, Hakkas, Japanese, and other nonnative residents of lowland and coastal Formosa. The Seiban, however, persistently resisted the advance of the more highly developed cultures and continued their life essentially unchanged in the security of the mountainous area of the interior. They remained fierce and unyielding, making frequent head-hunting forays, so that the Chinese, as a protective measure, were obliged to establish guard lines in various places. After Japanese occupation these guarded areas were elaborated, strengthened, and enlarged into one line encompassing most of interior Formosa. No real conciliatory progress was made by the Japanese until the late nineteen twenties. From Japanese material at hand it appears that the practice of head-hunting has almost, if not entirely, been abandoned, but that complete acculturation has not been achieved so that the Seiban remain at a primitive cultural level. Information on the post-war situation is lacking."

17: Norbeck--3 [2]
116, 101, 131

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"The Seiban are usually classified into nine tribal groups, with a large number of subtribes, often with little or no political unity. One of the largest units is the Atayal, composed of a considerable number of more or less independent and sometimes feuding subgroups which inhabit the extremely mountainous area of the north interior, an area comprising approximately one-sixth of the total island."

17: Norbeck--3-4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 161 Atayal

"According to a Japanese census of 1930, the Atayal numbered 32, 925, in 241 villages [4] (perhaps more properly translated as communities), and had a total of 7, 040 houses. (5)

5. Suzuki Sakutarō, Taiwan no Banzoku Kenkyū ('Study of the Aboriginal Tribes of Formosa') (Taihoku, Formosa: Taiwan Shiseki Kankōkai, 1932), p. 6."

17: Norbeck--4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Atayal

"The Atayal have long been known as one of the most fierce tribal groups and the most aggressive in head-hunting. They depend for subsistence upon hoe agriculture, principally of millet, dry-land rice and sweet potatoes, and to some extent upon the hunting of wild pigs and deer. Metal working is not practiced, but metal implements and guns are secured by barter. Atayal women are skilled in loom weaving, and proficiency in weaving is considered the highest feminine attainment. Religious practices, largely concerned with ancestor worship, are open to women as well as men, and women have been reported to serve occasionally as chiefs. Much importance is attached by the Atayal to their own history and genealogy, and traditions are transmitted orally by hereditary officials.

Considerable change in culture has come about from Chinese and particularly Japanese contact, and the Atayal have long possessed rifles. Both official and scholarly Japanese sources state that many Atayal customs have been abandoned or greatly changed in the last few decades, as is also indicated in some of the appended folk tales."

17: Norbeck--4-5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 114, 128 Atayal

"Ogawa's work, (6) from which the present translations were made, consists of texts in the native language by International Phonetic Alphabet representation, with Japanese characters inserted below each native word, and is accompanied by what is obviously a literal translation into Japanese. My translations are also fairly literal throughout and are based upon the Japanese text. (7) Little attempt has been made to put them into [4] fluent English. What may have been lost from, or added to, these folk tales in this process of double translation is impossible to estimate. I am, however, satisfied that the general content and motifs are faithfully reflected."

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6. Ogawa and Asai, op. cit.

7. Recourse ~~has~~ been made to the native text for a number of obscure place names appearing in the Japanese text under names given by the Japanese which, for lack of adequate reference material, are difficult to [4] identify or even to read. In such cases an approximation of the native name has been utilized.

17: Norbeck--5 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 128, 539 Atayal

"These tales are mostly stories of mythical times and etiological stories. The tales of mythical times are concerned with the origin and ancient life of the present human beings, and stories of the creation of the universe do not occur. The etiological or explanatory stories, comprising the majority of the tales, tell of magical transformation into birds, insects, and animals as the result either of misconduct by the persons transformed or of injustices against those who transform themselves. For ease in handling, the motifs are here subdivided into the following groups: (1) Tales of Magic Appearance of Food and Requisites for Living, (2) Flood Tales, (3) Tales of the Mythical Period, (4) Tales of Transformation, and (5) Miscellaneous Tales. Some duplication of tale elements occurs since the twenty-eight tales were gathered from two different villages or communities, Daihyō-sha and Takonan-sha (see Map 1 [MC: facing page 12]. (8)

8. Tales 1 to 17 are from Daihyō-sha; the remainder from Takonan-sha."

17: Norbeck--5-6 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"A comparison based upon the comprehensive motif-index of Stith Thompson (9)

9. Stith Thompson, 'Motif-index of Folk Literature,' Indiana Univ. Studies, 19-23, Nos. 96-97, 100-101, 105-6, 108-12 (1932-36).

reveals that nearly all of the tales share motifs with other areas of the world in general outline, although detailed resemblances have a much more restricted range. The incidence of frequency and the degree of similarity, as might reasonably be expected, increases with territorial propinquity, and is particularly marked among the Malay and other unspecialized Mongoloid peoples. These similarities are intensified in the folklore of the Philippines, and particularly in that of the pagan mountain tribes of northern Luzon. A fairly substantial amount of folklore is at hand on the Apayao, Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot, which is here compared with that of the Atayal. Folklore of the Ilongot and Ifugao, for whom the quantity of material available is considerably smaller, has also been utilized for comparison. [6] Since material on the remaining mountain peoples of Luzon is either very limited or unavailable, references to it have been omitted from consideration here."

17: Norbeck--6-7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 171~~, 539, 773~~ Atayal

"Tables of motifs in the mythology of the foregoing Luzon groups follow, with references to Atayal tales bearing the same or similar motifs. For the sake of convenience the appended Atayal folk tales are referred to by number.

I. TALES OF MAGIC APPEARANCE OF FOOD AND REQUISITES FOR LIVING

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Food, clothing, and anything desired appear magically. (10)	Apayao	7, 20
As punishment, people must labor for daily needs, with no further magical aid. (11)	Apayao	7, 20
Small basket of rice becomes five pots. (12)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Pigs and deer emerge from forest		

17: Norbeck--6-7 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

at call. (13)	Bontoc-Igorot (14)	7, 20
Food once easily available. Handful of rice sufficient for a family. (15)	Ifugao	7, 20
One teaspoon of rice when cooked sufficient for one person. (16)....	Ifugao	7, 20
Magic betel nut which, upon being chewed, produces deer. (17).....	Nabaloi	7, 20 [7]
Prepared food appears at a word. A small jar containing a single grain of rice supplies an abundance of food. (18)	Tinguian	7, 20
One grain of rice placed in each of twelve jars, which at once become filled with rice. (19)	Tinguian	7, 20

Many additional tales bearing the motif of magic appearance of food appear in the folklore of the above groups. This motif is also common in the mythology of other peoples of the Philippines. The motifs listed above bear the closest resemblances to the Atayal tales.

(10) Laurence S. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), p. 82.
(11) Mabel Cook Cole, Philippine Folk Tales (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916), p. 105.
(13) Ibid.
(14) In ibid., as 'Igorot.'
(15) H. Otley Beyer, 'Origin Myths Among the Mountain People of the Philippines,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 8, No. 1 (1913): 111.
(16) Dean C. Worcester (trans.), Fr. Juan Villaverde's, 'The Ifugaos of Quinigian and Vicinity,' Philippine Journ. Sci., 4, No. 4 (1909): 256.
(17) C. R. Moss, 'Nabaloi Tales,' Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Archeol. Ethnol., 17, No. 5 (1924): 345-46. [7]
(18) Fay-Cooper Cole, 'Traditions of the Tinguian,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ. No. 180, Anthropol. Ser., 14, No. 1 (1915): 191.
(19) Ibid., p. 211."

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17: Norbeck--7
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Flood tales similar to the two Atayal flood tales (Nos. 5 and 19) have been found for the Apayo, Ifugao, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot. All are based on the general theme that the world was once flat except for one or two mountains upon which the surviving people, usually two, take refuge from the floods, and that the present mountains and valleys were formed by the receding flood waters. Elements from these tales are elaborated in the following section."

17: Norbeck--7-8 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"Especially frequent throughout the mythology of the Tinguian and Bontoc-Igorot are references to 'peoples of the first times' who had different customs and ideas. Mabel Cook Cole, in referring to Tinguian myths, writes, '...the chief characters of these tales are not celestial beings, but typical generalized heroes of former ages.' She states further, 'In [8] the...stories we read of many customs of "the first time" which differ radically from those of the present.' (20) This is also characteristic of the Atayal myths."

20. M.C. Cole, op. cit., pp. vi-vii.

"Roland B. Dixon, in The Mythology of All Races states, 'The mountain tribes of northern Luzon in the Philippines seem to stand alone in respect to cosmogonic myths in that, so far as material now at our command is concerned, they lack entirely, or almost entirely, any myths of the origin of the universe.' (21) He writes further that

21. Roland B. Dixon, The Mythology of All Races, Oceania (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916), 9:55.

the actors in cosmogonic myths are treated as human beings in Igorot and some other Philippine mythology. (22) In commenting on cosmogonic mythology among the Ifugaos,

22. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

H. Otley Beyer reports, 'The Ifugaos have no beliefs that I have ever been able to discover, as to the origin of the universe; to their minds it has always existed and will always continue to exist.' (23) Although the appended Atayal tales unquestionably do not

23. Beyer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

represent the total group mythology, from material at hand the above points are also

17: Norbeck--8 (no date) ·1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 171, 773 Atayal

characteristic of the Atayal.

Of the Philippine mountain groups, at least the Tinguian, Nabaloi, and Bontoc-Igorot share with the Atayal the idea (not uncommon in the beliefs of many other peoples) that death was not intended to be inevitable and that immortality was lost through some error."

17: Norbeck--8-9 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines -12
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

"Some individual elements from these tales of the mythical period appear below:

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Earth once flat. (24)	Apayao, Bontoc-Igorot, Ifugao, Nabaloi	5, 19
Sun and moon once of equal brightness and there was perpetual daylight. (25)	Apayao, Nabaloi	4 [9]
The moon once also a sun, and it was always day. (26)	Bontoc-Igorot	4
Mountains and valleys formed by rush of receding waters. (27)	Ifugao	5, 19
Shooting the sun with an arrow. (28)	Nabaloi	4
People formerly immortal. (29)	Nabaloi	19

(24) Wilson, op. cit., p. 39; M. C. Cole, op. cit., pp. 102-3; Beyer, op. cit., p. 111; Moss, op. cit., p. 237.

(25) Wilson, op. cit., p. 40; Moss, op. cit., p. 237. [9]

(26) Albert E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot (Manila: Dept. Int., 1905), Ethnol. Surv. Publ. I: 221.

(27) Beyer, op. cit., p. 100. Note: only the Ifugao flood tale explicitly states that the mountains and valleys were formed by flood waters. All others begin with the statement that the earth was once flat, and the reader can infer the formation of mountains and valleys from the floods.

(28) Moss, op. cit. p. 233.

(29) Ibid., p. 235."

IV. TALES OF TRANSFORMATION

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
Boy turns into hawk because parents will not peel sugar can for him. (30)	Apayao	25, and others (31)
Origin of monkeys from women. Planting sticks become tails. (32)	Apayao	8, 24
Boy turns into fish when parents kill his pet pig. (33)	Apayao	23, 25, and others
Vain girl turns into scaly fish. (34)	Apayao	12, and others
Boy turns into serpent eagle because mother is stingy with food. Flies overhead saying. 'I don't need your food any longer.' (35)	Bontoc-Igorot	25, and others [10]
Boy turns into monkey because step-mother did not give him enough food. (36)	Bontoc-Igorot	8, 24, and others

17: Norbeck--9-11
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines-2
Atayal

Girl turns into rice bird because mother did not give her enough food. (37)	Bontoc-Igorot, Nabaloi	9, and others
Origin of monkeys from men. Rattan becomes attached to anuses as tails. (38)	Ilongot	8, 24
Men turn into rice birds when woman employer does not feed them. (39)	Ilongot	9, and others
Boy turns into monkey because no one will peel sugar cane for him. Cane becomes tail. (40)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Lazy daughter turns into monkey; roll of cotton becomes tail. (41)	Nabaloi	8, 24
Boy turns into hawk because of mistreatment. Flies over house and tells parents he will eat their chickens in the future. (42)	Nabaloi	25, and others
Woman turns into rock because of shame. (43)	Nabaloi	9, and others

17: Norbeck--9-11
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines-3
Atayal

Woman turns into wildcat to punish man for misdeeds. (44)	Nabaloi	22, and others
Lazy man constantly leans on planting stick. He turns into a monkey and stick becomes tail. (45)	Tinguian	8, 24 [11]
A boy is too lazy to strip sugar cane for himself. His mother, in anger, tells him to stick it up his anus. He does so and becomes a monkey. (46)	Tinguian	8, 24
Lazy girl pretends she does not know how to spin. Her companions, in disgust, tell her to stick spinning stick up her anus. She does so, and turns into a monkey. (47)	Tinguian	8, 24
Young wife is told by husband to cut an excessive amount of rice. She turns into a bird and flies off. (48)	Tinguian	9, and others

17: Norbeck--9-11
116, 171, 539, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines-4
Atayal

Boy is sent off to tiresome work of keeping birds from rice field, and turns into bird. Parents plead with him to become a boy again, but he refuses and flies off. (49)	Tinguian	25, and others
Deer which hunters are pursuing turns into a jar. (50)	Tinguian	21, and others
Boy turns into a stone because his grandmother ate the bird he snared. (51)	Tinguian	25, and others

Many additional tales of transformation exist among other peoples of the Philippines, but the most numerous and those of closest resemblance to the Atayal occur in the groups above.

(30) Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

(31) The Atayal tales which are most similar are listed by number. Where the phrase 'and others' appears, similar motifs may also be found as elements of various other Atayal tales.

(32) Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-9.

(33) *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

(34) *Ibid.*, pp. 134-36.

(35) Jenks, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23. [10]

(36) Carl W. Seidenadel, *The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 562-65.

(37) M. C. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18; Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

(38) Laurence L. Wilson, *Ilongot Life and Legends* (Baguio: Privately printed, 1947), pp. 40-41.

(39) *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

(40) Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-83.

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 283.

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 291.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 323.

(44) *Ibid.*, pp. 335-37.

(45) Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Lancaster, Pa., and New York; Amer. Folklore Soc., 1921), p. 414. [11]

(46) Ibid.
(47) Ibid.
(48) Fay-Cooper Cole, op. cit., p. 191.
(49) M. C. Cole, op. cit., p. 53.
(50) Ibid., pp. 68-70.
(51) Ibid., pp. 84-85.
(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88."

"V. MISCELLANEOUS TALES

Philippine Version	Philippine Group	Atayal Folk Tale Number
People who lived by inhaling the vapor of cooked rice and who had no anuses; anus made by piercing with pointed stick. (52)	Apayao	3 [12]
Examination of tattoos on back of hands before crossing bridge to Paradise. (53)	Apayao	16
Wicked giant whose skin is so thick it cannot be pierced with arrows. (54)	Nabaloi	6
Giant who violates women. (55) ..	Nabaloi	6
Giant who extends arms across river as a bridge when water is high. (56)	Nabaloi	6

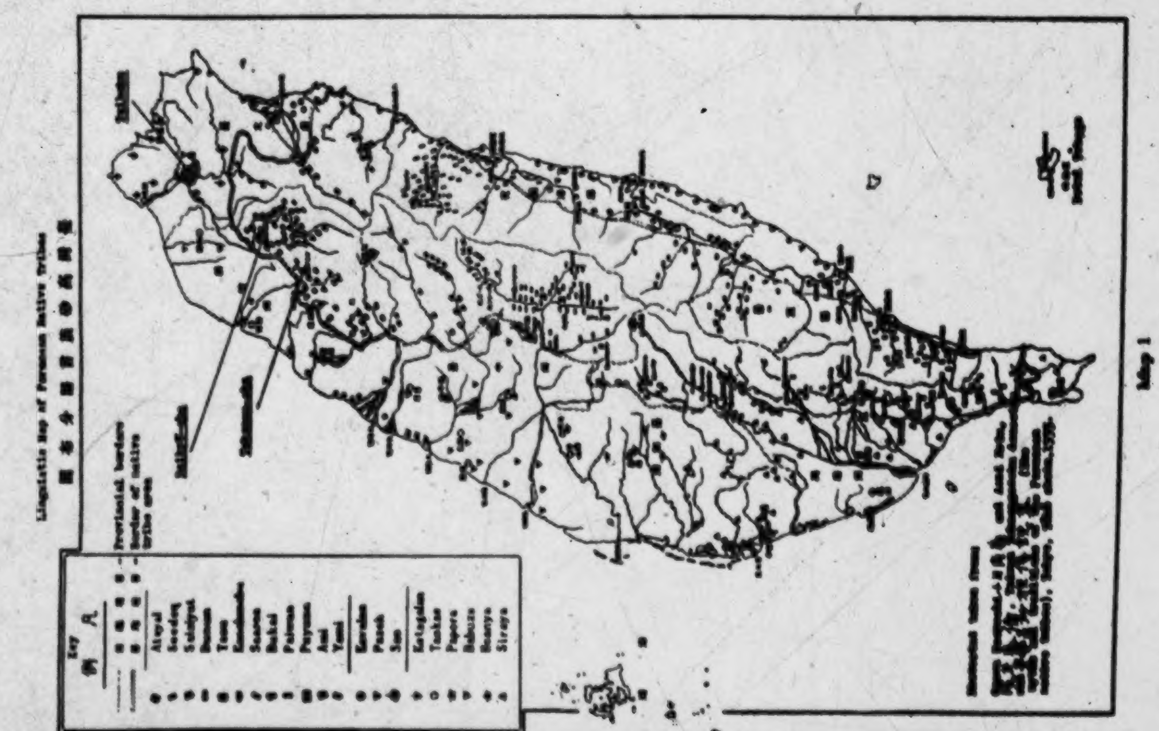
17: Norbeck--11-12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 171, 539, 773 Atayal

(52) Laurence L. Wilson, Apayao Life and Legends, p. 88. [12]
(53) Ibid., pp. 166-67.
(54) Moss, op. cit., pp. 341-43.
(55) Ibid., pp. 343-45.
(56) Ibid., p. 347."

17: Norbeck--12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"As may be noted, a number of the Philippine tales referred to above contain motifs and details identical or very nearly identical with the appended Atayal folk tales. Reference has already been made to the similarities noted in the culture, physical type, and language of the Formosan tribes and the various peoples of the Philippines. The coincidence of mythological motifs alone is suggestive of some sort of relationship."

17: Norbeck--facing 12 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 102, 198


Linguistic Map of Formosan Native Tribes
臺灣高砂族言語分布圖
Key
例 凡
Provincial borders
Border of native tribe area
Atayal
Seedeq
Saisiyat
Bunun
Tsou
Kanakanabu
Saaroa
Rukai
Paiwan
Puyuma
Ami
Yami
Kavalan
Pazeh
Sao
Ketagalan
Taokas
Papora
Babuza
Hoanya
Siraya
Taihoku

Abstracted taken from ... Taihoku, 1935.

Map 1

17: Norbeck--12 [2]
116, 171, 177, 773

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Both the Philippine groups under consideration and the Atayal inhabit isolated mountain regions and, at least during the historic period, remained resistant to outside cultural influences, preserving until very recent times cultures thought to be much the same as those of generations of their forebears. Indian and Isl[illegible]ic influence seems not to have reached them, and western influence upon the mythology of these groups is hardly discernible. In discussing diffusion of mythological themes, Stith Thompson reports that one-seventh of one hundred traditional tales current in western Asia and Europe have been recorded from Indonesia. (57) The motifs which he lists under this heading are almost entirely absent from the folklore of the groups here considered."

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57. Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), p. 284.

17: Norbeck--12-13 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 773 Atayal

"The similarity in folklore of the Atayal and Luzon groups seems unquestionably valid as a further substantiation of the relationship noted on the basis of linguistic, physical, and cultural similarities. A thorough comparative study of these [13] groups as well as other isolated groups (58) of Indonesia and Southesast Asia should be rewarding.

58. Of the groups examined in the southern Philippines, those of greatest similarity to the Atayal in mythology (but with considerably less similarity than the Luzon groups covered) were the Bagobo and Mandaya of Mindanao, both isolated peoples. Laura W. Benedict, 'Bagobo Myths,' Journ. Amer. Foklore, 26, No. 49 (1913); Fay-Cooper Cole, 'The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Publ., No. 170, Anthropol. Ser., 12, No. 2 (1913)."

17: Norbeck--13-14 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"1. THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF OUR ANCIENT ANCESTORS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale]

With regard to the origin of us Atayal by splitting a stone, it is said that there was a very large stone. It split in two suddenly and two men and one woman emerged from the place where it cleaved. When they looked about them, their surroundings were just deep virgin forests and wild beasts. Thereupon one of the men said, 'I don't like living on earth,' and re-entered the severed place in the stone, so it is said. The other two wanted to stop him, but he had already gone in. Then they said, 'What should we do to increase our number?' and thought about this continually. First the woman went to the ridge of the mountain, spread wide her thighs, and had the wind blow on her. Thus she thought she would become pregnant, but she did not, so it is said. Then once she thought, 'If we two have sexual connection I will become pregnant, won't I?' They did not, however, at once understand how to accomplish this. They tried with the sphincter, the nostrils, then the ears, the mouth, all of the orifices, but accomplished nothing. Then, once, they saw a fly come rushing in flight and alight between the woman's thighs. Pondering on this they said, 'This must be a hint from the gods.' Then, when they tried this, the sexual desire of living things actually became this way (satisfaction was attained in this way), (59) so it is [13] said. After a time the body of the woman became strange,

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59. Parenthetical items are those of the Japanese text; such additional

notes as seemed required by my translation have been entered as footnotes.

and her belly gradually grew larger. When the month came she confined herself to the house (gave birth to a child), and the joy of the father and mother was very great. The origin of us Atâyal, who split a stone asunder and then increased, is thus."

17: Norbeck--14 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"2. THE ORIGIN OF DIVINATION BY THE SILEK BIRD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

When our ancient ancestors went out they had no one who could make auguries, and, therefore, they became sick, were injured, and consequently sometimes died, so it is said. They therefore held a consultation and said, 'We are the representatives of the gods, and we desire to find someone who can do divination.'

One time the other birds had a contest with the silek birds in crossing a river while carrying stones. They said, 'The one of us who is successful will be the one who determines the auspiciousness of the comings and goings of you human beings.' Then the other birds, crying 'kaw-kaw,' tried to lift a stone but it didn't move. The silek birds then took their turn and, crying 'shi-shi,' lifted the stone just as it was, crossed the river, and placed it on the other side. Thus the silek birds won. Thereafter, when people went any place the silek birds determined the auspiciousness."

"3.THE STORY OF THE SHIGUTS TRIBE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient forefathers there was a village of the Shiguts tribe where the life of the people was naturally out of the ordinary, so it is said. This Shiguts tribe is said to have eaten only the vapor of cooked rice and boiled vegetables.

A man named Sijuma went there and saw that, although they cooked the rice and boiled the vegetables, they still did not eat the bulk and only inhaled the vapor. The Shiguts were surprised when they saw that Sijuma swallowed the rice and vegetables just as they were and wondered from where he would eliminate the food that he had eaten. Thereupon Sijuma said, [15] 'My people are not like you, who have no anus. We successively eliminate the food that we consume.' Having said this he showed them by excreting right there, so it is said.

Then one of the Shiguts said, 'We also certainly would like to emulate you, who do not eat the vapor of the cooked food. I wonder if there is any way to make an anal opening.' Sijuma said, 'In that case I shall make an anal opening for you. If that is done you can eat rice and vegetables as I can and will be able to eliminate successively.' The Shiguts man said, 'By all means please do make an anal opening for me,' and was very happy, so it is said. Sijuma thereupon heated an iron and when the iron became very hot he made the Shiguts turn his buttocks toward him and suddenly thrust the iron into his buttocks. The Shiguts died at once and so Sijuma secretly fled away.

This Shiguts tribe had very light bodies and ran swiftly. That is because they ate only vapor. When the other Shiguts awakened in the morning they saw that the man whose anus was pierced by Sijuma and who had been left by him was dead. Because Sijuma had run away they knew that he had killed the Shiguts. They thereupon immediately pursued him. Sijuma looked and saw that they were pursuing him and that he was about to be overtaken. He therefore immediately climbed a tree and hid in its branches. In a few seconds the Shiguts, like the rustling of the wind, came pursuing him, but since they did not find his footprints, they went back.

After the Shiguts had left, Sijuma descended to the ground. He was afraid, however, that the Shiguts would again come searching for him, and so he took some betel nut and stuffed it into the hole of an anteater, and also plastered it around the hole. Then he himself was able to get home safely.

As was foreseen, after Sijuma had gone home the Shiguts came back to search and found the hole of the anteater. Seeing that there was blood (60) they thought he was undoubtedly in this hole and thrust a spear in. They saw that the spearhead when withdrawn was dripping with blood, and thinking that Sijuma was without doubt dead, they again returned to their homes, so it is said."

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60. This refers to the red color of betel juice.

17: Norbeck--16 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"4. THE STORY OF CUTTING THE SUN IN HALF AND RETURNING HOME [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the ancient times of our forefathers there was only one sun. When it became day it was always only day for a half year, and when it became night, it was always only night for a half year. Everybody was suffering because of this, so it is said. They thought of various plans and then one person said, 'What if we go and cut the sun in half? If we do that it might become night and day alternately.' They then decided to go and cut the sun in half.

Accordingly, for that purpose, they selected three strong young men. These three, carrying their babies on their backs, went on their way, and as they went along the road they planted orange trees, so it is said. They went on and on but could not reach their destination. They saw that they, who had left their homes as young men, had all become gray-haired. They almost reached the vicinity of the sun, but then they all died.

The babies whom they had carried on their backs had all become young men, and so they carried on for their parents. Those young men took the place of their dead parents and at last arrived at the place where the sun emerges. They found that it was very hot. They waited at that place with caution, and lay concealed and eagerly waiting at the peak of the mountain where the sun emerges. They saw the sun come out. It was so hot that it seemed as if it would blind them. So they just waited as they were, and taking an

17: Norbeck--16
116, 539

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines-2
Atayal

opportune time, one of them drew his bow; and when he released it with a twang, blood welled up and the man who had shot the sun was bathed in blood from his head on down and died. The others, who were drenched with blood but still alive, returned home, eating the oranges that they had planted on the way over. It is said that when they arrived back home their backs were crooked; they had canes; their hair was gray, and they were extremely old men.

After they had shot the sun and returned home it came about that day and night alternated. During the day the sun came out, and at night the moon came out. After that the life of all the people became prosperous, so it is said."

"5. THE FLOOD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Long ago there were no valleys nor cliffs; the earth was just flat land with no irregularities, so it is said. There were hills, but they were small and, in general, they were the same as the flat land. Furthermore, the directions in which the rivers flowed were uncertain.

Then at one time there was a flood, and even the tiny mountain streams became swollen with water. Then suddenly the water gradually increased and became a sea, and the Atayal therefore all fled to Pappak Mountain. The water again increased and gradually made headway so that they were finally pushed up to the summit of Pappak Mountain.

There all the Atayal held a consultation, saying, 'We wonder why this water is gradually increasing. It may be that the gods are demanding something. How would it be if we offered them a person?' Then, for that purpose, they selected a worthless man whose death was of no concern. When they threw that man into the water, the water immediately roared, and, contrary to expectations, began to increase. They all deliberated and said, 'The gods are undoubtedly angry because we offered a worthless person. How would it be if we offered the daughter of the chief?' Since the chief consented when they spoke to him, they offered up the chief's daughter. Then, in a moment, with a roar as if the cliff were crumbling, the water receded.

When they looked at the land they saw that there were landslides, and deep valleys and precipices were being formed. In the place where the water had passed there were many fish and eels clinging here and there. They were not able to eat all of them and so they rotted and smelled terribly, so it is said. The old men of long ago have handed it down as a tradition that it was from this time that the precipices, high mountains, and deep valleys around this area appeared."

17: Norbeck--17-19 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"6. HALUS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Once upon a time a long time ago there was a very large man who was called Halus. It is said that he was sixty fathoms tall. The place where he slept was the size of a division of [18] a field, and the ground in this place was depressed to that extent.

It is said that his phallus was of a size large enough to cross a river and that ordinarily he wound it around his waist. At times when floods arose because of great storms, people came and called him and he made a bridge over the river with his phallus. It is said that he extended both of his arms at the same time and made a railing for the bridge. When women crossed it became hard as iron and did not move, but when men crossed it moved waveringly up and down, and it is said that crossing was an extremely frightening thing.

If he were always this way it could have been a beneficial thing, but actually this was not the case, for this Halus frequently violated the women. When the husbands went to the fields and the wives were in the houses, he would violate them. The women whom he violated had their thighs rent and died, so it is said. It is said that even if the doors were locked he would place his private parts in through the windows and violate the women.

That is not all. When they went hunting he would steal a march and go directly to the roads that the animals traveled and wait there. Then, when the animals came fleeing,

17: Norbeck--17-19 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539 Atayal

he would open his hands wide, chase them into his mouth, and swallowing them whole, would eat them up. The people wanted to kill him, but although they shot him with arrows, they were like mosquito bites and did not penetrate his body, so it is said. Then everyone was worried and said, 'What is the world are we going to do?' Fortunately, one man had an idea and said, 'Let us heat stones and try to deceive him by saying, 'Wait, some animals are coming.' Then we will try to kill him by causing him to eat the hot stones.' Everyone said, 'This is an excellent idea.'

So then they went to the mountains and heated two stones, and when they had baked them for three days the stones were red. They then went to Halus and said, 'We are going hunting. There are a great many animals. Go to the place at the foot of the mountain and wait very attentively.' Halus was very happy because they had said this, and left. When he was waiting attentively they said, 'A huge deer is coming,' and rolled a hot stone down. However, because this stone passed by Halus's side, they shouted, 'There is still another deer. Watch sharply,' and rolled down another stone. When the red [19] stone rolled down Halus gulped it down. Then a sizzling sound was heard; Halus gave one shrieking cry and instantly died."

17: Norbeck--19-20 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"7. A STORY OF THE ANCIENT WAY OF LIFE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the way of life of our ancient forefathers, it was not necessary for them to work to the point of getting tired, and actually it was an easy life, so it is said. For the fields they estimated enough millet to produce ten stalks and planted it. This was because, for some reason, when they cooked one grain of millet it filled the pot.

All of their food, whenever anything was wanted, appeared at once spontaneously. When they wanted to eat wild pig, the wild pig appeared of itself. Then, if they pulled out one hair and covered it with a winnow, and after a while lifted it and looked, the flesh of the pig was the size of a mountain. When they wanted deer they also did it in this manner. Thus, when they thought they desired any animal, it was always this way. Also, when they were talking together and said there is no firewood, it appeared of itself. Water was also always this way. When they went hunting, head-hunting, and visiting relatives, if they put seeds of grains inside a bamboo ear ornament they were not concerned with food even if they stayed a long time, so it is said.

However, this changed. A certain man put in ample grain and cooked it, but because it was still half raw he put on a lid. After a while he opened the pot and looked and a sparrow came out, and, crying 'papitspits,' flew off and alighted on the top of a reed. Then the sparrow said, 'From now on if all of you work with all your might you will not starve, but I, nevertheless, will eat. Moreover, lazy people will get no food.' It came about that from then on they were able to eat only at times when the harvest was good.

The animals, moreover, were vexed with the human beings. The animals were angry because an old woman once suddenly took a very large piece of meat in one slice, and so it came about that they tasted the flesh of animals only when they went hunting.

As for the firewood also: A certain woman was weaving with a loom. The people of the house were about to cook some grain and said, 'There is no firewood.' The firewood [20] then appeared of itself from the window and struck against the cloth. The woman weaving was angry and threw the firewood away. After that it came about that firewood did not appear of itself.

The reason why it came about that the Atayal search with all their might for food is thus, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--20 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 539 Atayal

"8. THE STORY OF THE MAN WHO TURNED INTO A MONKEY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient ancestors it seemed that there was an exceedingly lazy man. When he went into the fields, he always struck the hoe against stones, snagged it on the roots of trees, and soon broke it completely, and, thus, whenever he went into the fields his hoe never failed to break.

Once upon a time he went to cultivate the soil, but his hoe again snapped at once. Thereupon, he instantly inserted the hoe just as it was into his anus and, saying 'tekerak, tekerak,' jumped into a tree. Hair grew on the handle of the hoe which he had inserted into his anus, and it became a monkey's tail. Hair grew on his body also, and he turned completely into a monkey, so it is said.

This man who turned into a monkey said, 'I am lazy and not fit to become a real Atayal, and therefore I turned into a monkey. I, in this form that I now have, will only wander about here and there and eat the fruit of trees.' Then, just as he was, he turned his back and went along into the trees, so it is said."

17: Norbeck--20-21 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

9. THE STORY OF THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO A PIGEON [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the time of our ancient ancestors there was once a girl. She had no brothers, only a father and mother. Her mother made her work constantly and she was not often in the house.

Once upon a time her father went head-hunting, and, having been successful, he returned home singing a song. The mother and daughter knew that the father was returning, and the daughter asked for the various necklaces (used in dressing up) as [21] she wanted to go to meet her father; but the mother said, 'Go gather a little firewood,' and sent her off. The daughter went out and returned with the firewood on her back. The father was already close. She said, 'Please give me the necklaces,' but the mother did not give them to her, and sent the daughter out again to draw water. When the girl had drawn the water and returned she said to her mother, 'Father is very near. Mother, please give me my necklaces quickly,' but the mother did not give them to her. The very cold-hearted and ill-tempered mother again made the girl do some work, and because of this the girl at once went outside, and, making a fluttering sound, went flying away.

The mother went out to look and saw that the girl had turned into a bird and was perched on a twig of a dead tree resting. The mother was startled, brought the

17: Norbeck--20-21 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539 Atayal

necklaces, and, saying, 'Let me give you your necklaces. Come quickly. Your father has returned,' she displayed the necklaces. The girl, making an uncomprehending face, sang 'wa-wa.' She had turned completely into a pigeon."

17: Norbeck--21-22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 539 Atayal

"10. THE STORY OF THE ORIGIN OF TATTOOING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In the days of our ancient forefathers there were once an older sister and a younger brother. Although he became of marriageable age the younger brother could not get a wife. His older sister sympathized with him and for his sake went out to look for a wife, but she found none. The older sister thought, 'How would it be if I were to change my appearance and deceive my younger brother?'

Thereupon she said to her brother, 'For your sake I have found a woman. Go for her the day after tomorrow. I will have her wait beneath the tree at the place where the trail divides.' The brother was therefore very happy.

When the promised day came, the older sister went ahead of him to the place. She then tattooed her face with ink, and, before her brother arrived, sat down at the base of the tree at the place where the trail divided. On the promised day at noon, when the younger brother went to see if it were true, sure enough, just as his sister had said, there was [a] tattooed [woman] waiting. Since she was actually there, he brought her home and made her his wife. After that their number increased, so it is said. [22]

In another story the origin of forehead tattooing is said to be a mark indicating that the head of hontōjin (61) has been taken. According to another tale of our ancient

61. This refers to the Formosan Chinese, who form the major part

> of the population of Formosa. Since the term 'Formosan,' which is commonly applied to them, is ambiguous in this context, the term hontōjin from the Japanese text is utilized.

forefathers, it happened that in times of war allies were mistakenly killed, and so the marks were put on in order to have no errors while fighting."

"11. THE MARRIAGE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS IS UNLUCKY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times it is said that even brothers and sisters indiscriminately became husband and wife. Once upon a time there were a younger sister and a younger brother. One night the two slept together. The mother of the girl arose early and said, 'It is noon. Cook some food.' But the girl said, 'I have a headache,' and did not get up to do the cooking, and the mother therefore cooked the food. When the food was prepared the mother stood up and said, 'Eat the food.' The girl said, 'I have a headache,' and the two of them did not get up. Thereupon the mother got angry and said, 'If you two continue in this way you will probably really be sick. Eat a little.' But they did not comply at all.

The mother, it seems, became extremely angry, and suddenly pulled off the covers. She saw that the two were in an embrace and did not separate. The mother tried to pull one of them away, but the two were locked together and did not separate. The mother was frightened. People came to help and pulled at them, but were unable to separate them, and so they were forced to sever the man's penis. Thereupon the two separated at once, but at the same time both of them died.

The Atayal thought that they had probably incurred the anger of the gods because related people who drank milk from the same nipples had had sexual relations. They

17: Norbeck--22 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 539 Atayal

therefore held a consultation and it came about that brothers and sisters selected their spouses from outside the family, and brothers taking related persons as wives were called the source of misfortune."

17: Norbeck--23
116, 539

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"12. THE STORY OF TURNING INTO A PHEASANT [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

It is said that once in ancient times there was a lazy girl. She always went to the fields, but there was no evidence whatever of accomplishment of the work she went to do. It is said that she always went just to play. No matter how much she was reprimanded, she did not go to work at all if her parents did not accompany her.

Once her mother and father sent her to the fields and said, 'Go knock down the beans.' At noon they went after her and looked, but there was no sign of her having knocked down the beans. They looked for her but could not find her, and letting it go, they stopped searching. Then they burned the pods of some beans which were knocked down and piled up. When the fire started up a pheasant suddenly emerged from the heaped-up pods and fluttered off, so it is said. The bird said, 'Because I shirked my work, I have become a pheasant. From now on I will eat only the seeds of pods and the fruit of trees,' and flew away, so it is said."

"13. THE STORY OF THE SEPARATION OF THE SKHAMAYUN AND THE ATAYAL AND THE ORIGIN OF HEAD-HUNTING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Regarding the place where our ancient forefathers originated, it is said that, since their numbers gradually increased, there was insufficient food and they were naturally in troubled circumstances.

They thereupon held a consultation, saying, 'What is the best thing to do? We should hunt for a spacious place that will enable the descendants of a part of our people to gain a livelihood.' They said, 'If we do that we should divide our number, and then go search for a living place in the Front-hill region,' (62) and started to divide their number. However, the people who were going to the Front-hill region said, 'There are not enough of us. Let us shout loudly and make a test. We will make up the deficiency in people to the side whose shouting is the fainter, and then again make a comparison,' and part of them went over and gathered together at a distance. [24] Then the Skhamayun (the group going to the Front-hill region) shouted first. After them, the Atayal shouted. Then, as the shouting of the Atayal was superior, the chief of the Skhamayun quickly said, 'Your side is larger. Make up the deficiency in our

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62. 'Front-hill' is the name of one of the Atayal tribal groups.

number.' Thereupon the Atayal gave people to make up the deficiency. Then, when once again they compared the volume of their shouting, the shouts of the Skhamayun were enough to move a mountain. Then they understood. The Skhamayun had first hidden away some of their number. The Atayal side shouted, but it was unable to match the other. It is said that the chief of the Atayal then said, 'Why are you deceiving us? You are concealing part of your number.' The chief of the Skhamayun at once said, 'You have no reason to be troubled even if we are superior in number. At time when you are involved in disputes, (63) come to our place to hunt heads. If your bird

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(63) J. W. Davidson, in The Island of Formosa, Past and Present (London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903), pp. 566-67, states that the Atayal considers head-hunting obligatory in certain cases, among them the following: 'To be considered victor in a dispute or to recover one's standing after having committed some offense against one's fellows. Thus, when two savages quarrel and cannot arrive at a settlement both parties disappear; and the first to return with a head obtains a settlement of the disposition in his favor.' This statement by Davidson has been corroborated verbally by Asai Erin, co-author of the work here translated.

17: Norbeck--23-24 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-3
116, 539 Atayal

divination is good, you will take our heads; if your omen is bad, you will not be successful. Don't be worried because your number is small,' and then they departed. The traditional story of the origin of head-hunting is thus, so our ancient forefathers have said."

17: Norbeck--24-27 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines-1-4
116, 539 Atayal

"14. THE STORY OF BUTA DRIVING AWAY THE SKHAMAYUN

[MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times when the Atayal were all in the place of origin of our ancestors, the various drainage areas of the streams were the places in which the Skhamayun lived; that is, beginning with the stream of the Taroko people and extending to the place where the streams of the Kalaisan, Nebowan, Teranan, Sebetunux, Tsinbulan, Linahoi, and Pizinoh peoples converge at Tagbiran, all of these headwaters were populated by the [25] Skhamayun, so our ancient forefathers said. Since these Skhamayun were a division of the ancient forefathers of the Atayal, there was also intercourse between them.

With reference to the origin of the hostility between them and the Atayal, when the Buta (the name of an Atayal chief) group went hunting one time, they made a visit to the place of the Skhamayun. Among them was a man called Uloh Nauwi (Uloh, son of Nauwi), and because he was said to have touched the nipples of a Skhamayun woman for a joke, the brothers of the woman were angry and secretly killed him. Buta then became angry and said, 'Why did they kill him when he did it in jest? These Skhamayun intend to challenge us to war. We will drive them out and take the place where they live. If we do so, the range of our twisted hoes will be broad.' Then they all gathered together and conferred upon a plan of attacking the Skhamayun.

After the conference was over they pounded rice (prepared foodstuffs). Then they first went to the river of the Taroko people. After they had completely driven out the enemy there, in this manner, step by step, beginning with the stream of the Nebowan people, they went to the streams of the Nebowan, Teranan, Sebetunux, and Tsinbulan peoples. They overthrew the Skhamayun at those places and moved to the stream in the Linahoi people's region. Buta went there because it was said that Chief Opil of the Skhamayun was waiting there to attack them.

When they were engaged in fighting one of the Skhamayun chiefs suddenly appeared and said, 'I am Opil the Good.' Buta then immediately fired his bow and killed him. Then he rejoiced saying, 'I succeeded in killing Opil the Good,' but when he looked carefully, it was another man, Opil the Bad, and so his joy had been premature.

According to a story they heard, Opil the Good had escaped and was waiting in the vicinity of Pizinoh stream. Therefore Buta again arose at once and, together with his elder brother (the father of Uloh), went there. When they went and looked, the enemy, as anticipated, lay waiting in ambush. Thereupon Mauwi (the elder brother of Buta and father of Uloh) said, 'Buta, I will go ahead. I am not concerned about being killed by them. I will go (on the road to Hades) together with the spirit of my son,' and he went on leading the way. When they emerged from the cover of a bank, Opil the Good appeared [26] suddenly and, quickly releasing his bow, killed Mauwi. Buta, who instantly took Mauwi's place, released his bow, and at once shot down Opil the Good. Because of this the Skhamayun became completely scattered, so it is said.

Buta took the head of his elder brother and of Opil the Good, and, carrying them on his back, left. Then he stopped at the summit of Kayinan Mountain, buried them there, and again returned to the place of our origin, so it is said.

The Skhamayun who lived in the drainage area of the Sebetunux stream were making the Mohein plain their latest living place. Buta went there and looked out across from Piyawai Mountain. He saw that the Skhamayun were really making the Mohein plain their latest abode, and so he and his men went there, attacked, and were victorious. However, the enemy at once left and assembled at Kin-yaopan plain, and waited in ambush there. At this time the Malipa people also united with Buta's followers, attacked the enemy and quickly defeated them. It is said that the heads which they took were very numerous. The names of these places thereafter became Kin-yaopan 'the place where they attacked' and Tarekan 'the place where they fought,' so it is said.

They lined up the heads they took. The heads the Malipa took extended to two and one-half times the breadth of the river, and the heads which the Buta group lined up extended to one and one-half times the breadth of the river, so it is said.

The Skhamayun fled and went to live at Hemawan plain. Buta and his followers once again rose and struck and scattered them, and this time they caused the death of the man Omao Lawa. Then, referring to this, (64) they called this place Hemawan plain.

64. Meaning uncertain.

The Skhamayun moved once again and took up abode at Payasan. Buta's group once again attacked and scattered them. This time the man Payas Pugao was killed. Thereupon they called this place Payasan. The Skhamayun left this place and lived at Pakowayan. Buta again fought and defeated them. They fled to Panan (65) plain, but Buta's forces killed Makakowai, and, therefore, they called this place Pakowayan. Buta again attacked them at Punan plain, and once again quickly scattered them. Since this time they killed [27] Puna, they referring to his name, called this place Punan plain. The Skhamayun fled across the river and went ashore at Tsiyayan and waited. There again they fought and again were scattered. On this occasion Katsiyai was killed, and they therefore called this place Tsiyayan. When the Skhamayun fled, Buta at once pursued them. He went as far as Gogo Sliban, and the expulsion of the Skhamayun who were in the drainage area of Sebetunux stream was successful, so it is said. In the last place where Buta put his feet he shot an arrow into a tree and left it there, so it is said. This, they say, is what people today call the butt of Buta's lance."

65. Orthography follows text. It appears that this may be an inadvertent error and that Panan should be Punan.

"15. BUTA'S WAR STRATEGY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Once upon a time Buta went forth to attack the Skhamayun, and, because his forces were not large, he met with defeat. Thereupon, after due consideration, he said, 'We will wait until the time when the Skhamayun have a feast and then attack.' As they were watching for this to happen, the Skhamayun gathered just at the time of the full moon and held a feast.

The houses of the Skhamayun had boards laid in the manner of those of storehouses, with apertures in between them. It is said that when they slept their hair hung down below their pillows through the apertures. When Buta came to see the state of affairs they were absorbed in holding their feast, and when it grew late they all seemed to be asleep.

Buta then arose and went to reconnoiter. When he looked closely he found they were sound asleep. When the first cock crowed, Buta arose at once and went and tied together the hair of all of them. When dawn came he quickly went into the houses, awakened the people and saying, 'I have come to kill you,' started to kill them one after another. Then and there he killed them all. When he had finished this [the other] (66)

66. Meaning uncertain.

Skhamayun all awakened, and, although Buta escaped they immediately pursued him.

In his path of escape lay a mountain stream with a bridge of vines. When Buta reached this place the Skhamayun seemed to be about to take the risk of following him. Just when Buta had crossed the bridge, it seemed that they also [28] had reached the edge of the bridge. Buta thought it over, calmly awaited his chance and said, 'Come, let us have a match.' The Skhamayun then came on just as they were to try. When they were all on the bridge and the leader was just on the point of setting his foot on the other side, Buta, not missing his opportunity, severed one end of the bridge. Then the enemy, all in one group, suddenly fell into the mountain stream, so it is said. Thereupon Buta, in high spirits, left the place and returned home, so it is said.

Moreover, once upon a time, because the number of his followers was not great, Buta lined up many lighted torches and made the enemy think his forces were large.

Also, once upon a time, just one road went over the steep precipice of a mountain. Buta collected the hides of deer, had people sew them together and laid them out on the path above the precipice. When night came Buta's party advanced, fired their rifles, and challenged the enemy to battle. When the enemy accepted the challenge and advanced, they feigned retreat. The enemy said, 'We will pursue them,' and ran after them, but when they came to the place where the hides were spread, unexpectedly, one after another, they slipped and fell from the cliff. Although the ones in front fell off, the others

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still came one after another and slipped and fell off. This was because it was night, and they, not realizing the situation, all kept advancing. When morning came and Buta's forces looked down at the foot of the cliff they saw a mountain of corpses, so it is said."

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116. THE ROAD TO PARADISE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times the Atayal said that being a true man or a true woman, just this one thing, was the most important to us who live in this world, and they taught this principle to their children, so it is said. They instructed them in just this way because it was said that those who knew the essential crafts (i.e., true women) and true men were the ones eligible to cross the Bridge of the Gods and go to Paradise.

It is said that there was a Bridge of the Gods which must be crossed on the road to Paradise. In the river below this bridge lived great serpents and many fishes, so it is said. On the near edge of the bridge was situated the house of a [29] watchman, who awaited the souls of the dead, and this was the place where they were judged, so it is said. When there were dead people, the watchman waited at this house at the foot of the bridge and made judgments. If they were judged to be true men and true women, they passed directly over the bridge just as they were without being specially painted with the juice of pigweed. People who were somewhat questionable first had their hands painted with pigweed, and then tried to wash it off. Those who were thoroughly stained and could not wash the stain off although they tried, since they were true men and true women, were allowed to cross the bridge and go on to Paradise, so it is said. The people who were not thoroughly stained and did wash off the stains were made to go

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from the direction of the bank because they were evil people.

On this river-bank path were trees covered with thorns; burs grew thickly, and there were great numbers of leeches. The people who came to this place were scratched by the thorns, bitten by the leeches, and their clothes were all covered with burs, so it is said. Some of the people died before they reached Paradise. Some evil people among those who were not permitted passage on the bridge insisted, saying, 'Let us cross the bridge.' Then the watchman deceived them, and, in a kind manner, lightly gave them his hand and allowed them to cross, but when they came to the center of the bridge they were pushed off and were eaten up by the huge serpents and fish."

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"17. THE ORIGIN OF THE WIND [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

The source of the rise of the wind is a deer which lives in a deep pool, so it is said. It is said that the wind blows because he moves about in order to wash his body. The rise of violent winds is due to his thrusting his ears out from the water. A wind that is not strong comes from his thrusting his ears out just a little distance, but as he gradually thrusts his ears out farther, the wind gradually grows heavy. At times when he thrusts his ears out farthest the wind is its most violent, so it is said."

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"18. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATAYAL [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times this locality was not the abode of the Atayal. Here there were only wild animals and trees. The Atayal did not live here, but in Sabayan there was just one place from which we sprung. At first there was only one man, but because the number increased gradually and the places in the interior became crowded, the people gradually moved down below. By degrees they descended the mountain streams and scattered about in the place where we now live. As the number of people gradually increased, they felled all the trees in this place. In ancient times there were many trees, and there was much room. However, only the Baibuyu (Saisiyat tribe) lived in this vicinity. When the Atayal crossed over the mountains they vanquished all the Baibuyu, and so the Atayal gradually took over their living place. The Atayal gradually defeated the Baibuyu and made them move down the streams, pursuing them to the confluence of the streams at Tamaro. They pursued them to the juncture of the streams at Tamaro, and left only two Baibuyu unkilled. Those two men had hoes, a little salt, gunpowder, and rifles, and so the Atayal saw gunpowder, rifles, hoes, and salt for the first time. They let the two men live and bartered with them for the hoes and salt. In this manner reconciliation was effected between us and the Baibuyu. From that time on we and these Baibuyu lived together."

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"19. THE FLOOD [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our number was not great. Because the ocean (the flood) came up, the Atayal fled from the ocean and went to the interior. They went to the summit of Pappak Mountain, which was the only place the ocean did not reach. Because the ocean pursued them right to Pappak Mountain, the Atayal fled far away and assembled at its summit. As the food was ample they calmly stayed where they were. In those days they placed heads of millet in their ears (67) and went on trips. If they boiled one grain cut in half, it filled a large iron pot when cooked. [31]

The animals also escaped to Pappak Mountain. The snakes also escaped to Pappak Mountain. The animals and the snakes joined the Atayal, but the relations between the three were excellent and from the beginning there was no quarreling. Because they became tired of being in this place, the Atayal propitiated the ocean by throwing into it an excellent dog. The ocean did not comply; it neither moved nor retreated. Later, when they offered up a splendid Atayal in propitiation, the ocean waters retreated. Thereupon the Atayal once again returned to the place here where we now live.

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67. See tale No. 7. [MC: in category 116]

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This place was originally not an evil place. This place where we now live became an evil place because the flood came. The reason that this place became evil is that at the time of the flood, eels crawled on the surface of the land and indented it (made the topography irregular). Although our ancient ancestors again returned to their former abode, they still preserved their millet seeds.

There was a god whose custom it was to enter excreta. Once this god spoke to the Atayal promising: 'If you will wash me off, you will shed your skin successively like the crepe myrtle and never grow old, and you will never die.' However, as they did not wash this god he said, crying, 'If you show me no concern and consider washing me too much trouble, we will be averse to protecting even the small children and will take their lives. The people whom we are not averse to protecting will be left to their own courses, and when their span of life is completed, we will then take their lives.' He spoke thus, and in actuality it was no lie. People died even if they were children. The people whom he had not ceased protecting grew old, and then their lives were taken. This is why our lives have come to be as they are."

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"20. FOOD APPEARS SPONTANEOUSLY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our ancestors did not buy things. This was because the various sorts of food appeared of themselves. When they called for water it appeared. When they called for trees, they also appeared. Even when they called for pigs, they also appeared. Deer also came when they called. Once upon a time they called for deer; but, because when the deer came they took more meat than they needed, the deer were [32] angry, fled away and did not return. Since the deer never came again, they got them only when they went hunting. Then the water, the trees and the pigs also became angry, and none of them ever came again. From then on the Atayal had to work. From that time on all people who did not work died of starvation."

"21. THE DECEASED MAN MAKOWAI [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In olden times, as one of our customs, we held harvest festivals. People who did not observe the harvest festival were always drawn away by a luttux. (68) Once, one of our ancient ancestral founders did not observe the harvest festival and a luttux drew him away. His name was Makowai. When he went hunting he fought with a luttux at Puloto Mountain. When he fought there he cut off the head of the luttux, but when he looked at his sword there was no evidence of the cutting. The luttux also cut the Atayal (Makowai), but there was no evidence of the cutting.

Makowai was drawn by the luttux, went along a mountain stream, and suddenly was no longer in this land. The luttux returned in a year, but Makowai, while with the luttux, always said, 'Let us go hunting. Let us go hunting and arouse the animals.' While waiting in concealment out hunting, he killed the luttux's dog with an arrow. The luttux came and saw this, and said to Makowai, 'Why have you killed my dog? For a male dog it is best to cast a spell.' Then the luttux gave him the dog and said, 'If you are

68. In Japanese text, kami. Footnote in Japanese text equates the Atayal word luttux with the Philippine word anito, 'god' or 'supernatural being.'

going to cook and eat the dog, then do so. However, we will again go hunting in this place. I will have my child go with you. When the wild pigs to be caught emerge, the child will be able to instruct you.' Then they went hunting, but when they looked at the thing they drove out, it was a frog (actually it was a wild pig, but looked like a frog to Makowai). Makowai bent a stalk of withered pampas grass, inserted the frog, and bound it with a blade of grass. The child of the luttux shouted, 'Please come and see. Uncle Makowai has just caught a wild pig in a trap.' The father [33] went there. Then they all went there and pierced the frog with swords. Then the luttux was happy, and he and his child cooked the frog and ate it. Makowai cooked and ate the dog he receive from the luttux. Then he said, 'When I look at the luttux's array of food, I see he has a great deal and I have little,' and thought it strange (because what Makowai saw as a frog was really a wild pig, the amount of flesh was great). Then he returned home.

Afterward they again went out head-hunting. When they looked carefully, the appea ance of their quarry was not that of an hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese]. After they had pursued it, they found it was a raspberry. When they picked the fruit of the raspberry, it was the head of a hontōjin. Makowai picked all the raspberries on both sides of the river, and when he got home and looked, all the raspberries, which he had put i a bag and brought with him, were the heads of hontōjin. Makowai and the luttux were both scratched and wounded by the raspberries, just as if they had been hit by a rifle. They returned home and performed rites for the heads of the hontōjin. Makowai said, 'I do not understand the food I eat. Although I am told by them to eat, I do not understand what I eat. That is because the god is a spirit.' (70)

70. Note by Japanese translator at end of this passage states: 'Meaning unclear.'

Later, the luttux dispatched Makowai saying, 'Go back. You have killed the things (the hontōjin) we value.' Makowai said, 'How can I return? I don't know the road back.' Then the luttux said, 'All right. I will see you off. I will allow you to take six arrows. When you have used up those six arrows, I will at once take your life.'

It was improbable that the people of Makowai's household would know of his return. Makowai's wife had gone to the storehouse, and Makowai at that time had returned and stood trembling by the storehouse. His wife said, 'Why have you returned? I thought you were dead long ago.' One of the stories I heard thereupon ends. (This tale is confused throughout, and the person switches fromthird to first. The Japanese translator has translated the person as given by the narrator, with a note so indicating. The narrator apparently at times put himself in the place of the character Makowai. Third person has been used throughout in this translation.)"

22. EATING CHILDREN [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times our forefathers always ate children. A certain wife did not want to eat her child, but was deceived into eating it. When she was going to the fields her husband deceived her, saying to her, 'Leave the child for a little while, as I will go and prepare some food. When the food is cooked I will call you. Don't hurry. Wait until I call.'

The husband then shot the child with a gun and cooked it for his wife's food. When the child was cooked he called his wife. The wife came and the husband said, 'I just killed a monkey.' The wife was very happy and said, 'We're going to eat monkey.' She then said, 'I will go get the child and let it suckle.' The husband had put a stone in the child's hammock after he had killed it. The husband said, 'Don't be in such a hurry to get the child. If you don't eat the monkey now, its flavor may not be good.' The wife then said, 'All right. I'll do that. If I eat it now it will probably be delicious.' The husband said, 'You eat. I finished eating a little while ago.' The husband felt sad because she was about to eat his child. When the wife had eaten her stomach full the husband said, 'Put your dishes over there, and I will show you the head of the monkey you ate,' (he had left the head and the fingers and toes uncooked). Actually it was the head of the child which he had cooked. When the wife looked at the head, she saw it was that of her own child. She began to cry and immediately vomited, and what she

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vomited was the size of a mountain. The wife said, 'While I am crying, just as I am, right here, I will make myself vanish,' and in a twinkling she did vanish. The cicada which you see today incessantly crying among the leaves of the trees of the deep forest is what this woman turned into."

23. TURNING INTO A WILD PIG [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times some of our ancestors turned into wild pigs. A certain father and son went out to the fields. When it became noon the father and mother sent this child to a hut, saying, 'Go prepare some food.' They also said, 'When we think it is an auspicious (71) time and you have cooked the food, we will [35] come to eat.' The child cooked the food and waited for his mother and father, but they did not come. The child went out to look for them, but they had already turned into wild pigs and were at the edge of the field. The father came pursuing his son and said to him, 'We have just turned into wild pigs.' He almost bit his son. The son said to his mother and father, 'Father, mother, don't bite me. I am just going to plant some potatoes, taro, peanuts, and sugar cane, and so you may come and eat a little at the edge of the field.'

Wild pigs existed after this. You will notice it has come about that since then, when we plant our fields, the wild pigs come and eat at their edges.

The wild pig said, 'I have turned into a wild pig. I go to eat at the edge of your fields, and when I chase you, if my luck is bad you will shoot me. Then, when you do hit me,

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71. Meaning uncertain.

eat me. When your luck is bad and you disregard the bird divination and go hunting, I will bite you.' Ever since then it has come about that when we go hunting with a good bird omen we kill wild pigs; when we go with a bad omen, the wild pigs bite us. That we go hungry is because the wild pigs eat up the borders of our fields."

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"24. TURNING INTO A MONKEY [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In ancient times one of our ancestors turned into a monkey. He didn't want to turn into a monkey, but, once upon a time, when he went out to work in the fields and had worked all day, the handle of his hoe broke five times. Then he said, 'Once again I will cut a tree and make a handle. What shall I do if this one breaks?' He completed the handle and resumed work, but when he had chopped twice the handle of his hoe broke again. He thrust the broken end of the hoe into his anus and then, just as he was, turned completely into a monkey. The handle became his tail.

Concerning his food he said, 'Am I one who so indiscriminately eats anything and everything? I will eat only from the borders of your fields.' Then the Atayal said, 'When you come to eat at the edges of our fields, we will shoot and kill you. If our field products are eaten by you, what will we have to eat?' The monkey said, 'It's all right even if you do shoot me. When there is no food, what am I to do? Since I am not [36] concerned about this, when you do shoot me with a rifle, then eat me.' This was the beginning of our shooting and eating monkeys."

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"25. TURNING INTO A KITE [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

Long ago, in the time of our ancient ancestors, the kites were also Atayal. The boy who turned into a kite didn't want to do so, but his mother and father were wicked. His mother and father deceived him and said, 'Go clean up outside. When you have done so we will give you some ornaments.' When the boy had finished the cleaning he asked his mother and father, 'Mother and father, please give me my ornaments.' His mother and father said, 'You are not finished yet. Go draw some water. When that is done and you have returned, we will give you the ornaments.' When the boy had returned to the house after drawing the water he said, 'Please, mother and father, give them to me. I am back from drawing the water.' Then his mother said, 'You are not through yet. Go get some firewood. Then I will give you the ornaments.' When the boy returned he said to his mother, 'Mother, please give me the ornaments!' His mother said, 'You are not through yet. Clean our sleeping places, and then I will give them to you.' When he had finished he said, 'Mother, please give them to me,' but his mother and father said, 'You are not through yet. Clean our toilet, and then, when you have finished we will give them to you.' When the boy had finished he said, 'I have finished. Please give them to me.' But they didn't give them to him. His mother said to him, 'I deceived you. Look, you did the work splendidly.' The boy then said, 'Yes, you deceived me. All right, I shall turn into something before your eyes.' The boy went across the way,

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entered the storehouse and took his ornaments. Then he arranged them, made them into wings and covered his whole body. When he had finished he called his mother, saying, 'You deceived me. Look at me now.' When his mother and father went to the door to look, he had turned into a kite and flew over the house. The boy said, 'No matter how many things you offer to appease me, I will not return, but that will probably not worry you. There is no reason why you should not be able to see me. From now on I will fly over the house, and when you raise chickens I will [37] from time to time come and seize one or two, then go to a high place and eat them.' Since then it has actually been as he said. When we have chickens he seizes them, goes to a high place and eats them."

"26. THE VILLAGE OF ONLY WOMEN [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

In a certain place some women lived, and there were only women there. When they felt sexual desires they went to the top of a precipice, and when the wind entered their vaginas they became pregnant. No matter how many children they gave birth to, they were always only female children. Such were their circumstances in the days of long ago. Although there were only women, they were not without a leader. An old woman was their chief.

These women had never seen a man. Once upon a time a dog belonging to our ancient ancestors got lost, and so one of our ancestors went to look for it. He went to the place where the women lived. The man said to the women, 'Hasn't my dog been in this vicinity? It went off chasing a wild pig.' The women said, 'It isn't here. No dogs ever come to our place.' The man said, 'Well, if that is so, all right. I will go look someplace else.' The women said, 'What is that between your thighs. We have never seen such a thing before. Why does the thing between your thighs dangle so?' Thereupon the man said, 'There are also people like you (women) at our place, but don't you have any mates?' Then the women said, 'If you don't mind, experiment with us a little.' The man said, 'In that case, let us go to your sleeping place and sleep.' The women said, 'Experiment a little with each of us.' Then they went to the sleeping place and, one after another, cohabited with the man. No matter how eagerly they moved themselves, they were not able to achieve satisfaction. This was because there were many women and the man was in no way capable of effecting union with all of them. After the women had finished they called the old woman who was their chief, saying, 'Mother, mother, come here for a minute and try this. It is a pleasant sensation.' The old woman smiled as she approached this place and said, 'What is this that you call a pleasant sensation?' When the old woman arrived she entered the sleeping place, but because the man had already had a great deal of [38] sexual intercourse, no matter how he tried he was impotent. Thereupon the old woman said, 'Why didn't you let me do it first? I am the one who is your chief.' The old woman was offended, and so she took a hatchet and severed the penis of the man who had come hunting the dog. This man then died.

Our kinsmen waited and waited, but the man didn't return. There was a rumor that some women who lived in a good place had killed him. Our ancestors said, 'They killed him, and so we will go kill them.'

Our ancestors departed and surrounded the women they were going to kill. This was because the women had taken the first step. They shot at the houses with rifles, but no one came out and there was not even any noise in the houses. Only bees came out. Our ancestors were dispersed by hornets, and no women to be killed came out. Our ancestors returned, but clinging to their clothes were ants, wasps, honey-bees, hornets, and other insects. These built nests in the trees in this place where we now live. When those bees build nests, we burn them and eat them and their taste is delicious.

Also, there were no small red ants nor large black ants anywhere in ancient days; but, as they came back together with the men who went out to surround the women, they all spread out over the earth.

The women said, 'They tried to kill us but didn't succeed. They stopped attacking because they were afraid of the bees.' However, our forefathers said, 'After all, we were putting the enemy at ease.' Later they went and encircled the enemy again and unexpectedly set fire to the grass, burning them all up, the bees, the ants, and also the women. The houses also turned black and burned down.

When they looked at the burned remnants of the house, there was one hut for pigs remaining, and in it a small girl stood trembling. The men said, 'It is very good luck that we found the girl.' They carried the girl on their backs and took her home with them. The man who took custody of her and took her along was a man from Tahayakan village. They reared the girl and when she was mature secured her a husband. Then a boy was born to her. Later, whenever he (72) wanted anything, he was able to practice sorcery and get it. Furthermore, he also taught the sorcery to his son. This man from Tahayakan village was from a line of sorcerers, but at [39] the present time

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72. Apparently refers to the 'man from Tahayakan village.'

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there are no longer any practitioners of sorcery at Tahayakan village. This is because they were all killed. Even if there were sorcerers, what would they be able to do?"

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"27. THE BRANCHING OFF OF OUR ANCESTORS [MC: Translation of an Atayal folk-tale.]

In ancient times, when our ancestors separated from the hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese] the Atayal said to our hontōjin ancestors, 'We are going to part from you. You go below to the plain and we will live in the mountains. Since we are going to separate from you. let us have a conference in order to make our numbers exactly even.' Then, in point of fact, they did assemble and count their number. When they were divided into halves, the hontōjin said, 'All of you shout once with loud voices.' When the Atayal side shouted, the leaves of the bamboo fell. The Atayal then said, 'You shout,' and so the hontōjin shouted, but the leaves of the bamboo neither stirred nor fell. The hontōjin said, 'Our side is a little wanting. That is because the side of you mountain Atayal is larger.'

Then the Atayal made up the deficiency of people on the hontōjin side, but the hontōjin said, 'Let us shout once again.' Then the hontōjin shouted, and the leaves of the bamboo fell. Next the Atayal shouted, but the bamboo leaves neither stirred nor fell. The side of the Atayal was smaller, and the hontōjin side was larger. The Atayal said, 'You hid some of your number. Make up our deficiency.' However, the hontōjin refused, saying, 'We will not make up the deficiency.' The hontōjin all gradually escaped in the direction of the lowlands.

The Chief of the hontōjin said, 'There is nothing to worry about because there are a great many of us. When you are involved in disputes, (74) look at the sesili bird, and if the bird divination is good, it is all right even if you come and kill one of us. When you come with a bad bird divination, we, in turn, will kill one of you.' This was the beginning of the hontōjin and ourselves killing each other.

The hontōjin also say, 'We took the smiths with us at the same time we separated.' And, look, the Atayal are all stupid and there is no one who knows anything. This is because the [40] people who knew smithing went only to the side of the hontōjin at the time of the separation. See, we Atayal do not know smithing. Thus it came about that we buy our implements from the hontōjin. This is because the people who knew smithing were all taken for the benefit of the hontōjin. Our buying things from the hontōjin and also our killing them began after this.

Although we kill the hontōjin, we do not do so indiscriminately. We do not kill people who live in the same drainage area as we. It is all right to kill hontōjin who live in the drainage areas of other rivers. Doing it in this way, we shelter the people of our own river drainage area. Strange people from other places come to kill the hontōjin we shelter. Also, it is all right if we go to other rivers and kill hontōjin.

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74. See tale No. 13. [MC: in category 116]

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Our acino (of shells fashioned like glass beads and attached to China grass cloth) also come from the hontōjin. Like the other things, we buy them [illegible] from the hontōjin. These acino are put to use. We always decorate our clothes (75) with them, and also always adorn our hats with the acino. Since we also adorn our necks, we look all the more beautiful. The rich always have many acino, and the poor, few. We always use these acino in the settling of accounts. One acino equals one sickle; ten acino equal ten sickles. This is no different from present day money. What we call one piece (76) equals one ten-sen silver coin; ten pieces equal one yen. We call ten pieces one tunux, and this is no different from our present day money. What we call a yen the old people called a tunux."

75. Asai Erin informs me that the loom-woven jackets worn by the Atayal are frequently covered with these shell beads.

76. Refers to the acino.

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"28. TATTOOING [MC: Translation of an Atayal folktale.]

We Atayal practice tattooing. I will tell you the story of its origin. In the early times of our ancient forefathers there was no tattooing. Once upon a time, in experiment, they tried tattooing their legs, and, since it looked beautiful, our ancient forefathers thought, 'If we, to try it out, put this tattoo just as it is on our faces, it will probably look very beautiful.' This was the beginning of our tattooing our faces. [41]

The ancient tattoos were not like our present day tattoos. At the same time that they had finished the tattooing, the whole faces of our ancient ancestors always turned completely black. Later their tattoos gradually became more limited.

They did not tattoo themselves, but when they gave a fee to a man who came to do tattooing, he put tattoos on their faces. When they tattooed a woman, they began at dawn and when it was sunset they had finished tattooing her. They treated the man who came to do the tattooing with food. This was, so they cleverly thought, to make him contrive a good design. As for the tattooer's fee, a low price was seven banun; (77) that is, the equivalent of seven of the yen of today. An expensive tattoo was eight

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77. In Japanese, taba ('bundle'). Explanatory note in Japanese text states: 'Five each of sickles, hatchets, etc., in a bundle.'

banun; that is, the equivalent of eight of the yen of today. After the Japanese came, the tattooers wanted money and the fee became three yen, but, as a result of our taking the customs of the Japanese (abandoning the custom of tattooing), the fee of three yen also stopped completely.

After our young men return from killing hontōjin [MC: Formosan Chinese] they tattoo their foreheads and chins. Even when they went to kill someone our ancestors took many people, even their children, with them. Then, from the head taken, they distributed one hair to each of the children. After they returned, these people who went out to kill hontōjin were all tattooed. As a result of this, the children grew with the speed of the wind. According to the Atayal custom, a man who has killed many men tattoos his chest. A man who has killed only a few men does not tattoo his chest.

When we return from killing hontōjin, we return with our voices raised in the war cry along the road. When we get home we all go to the place for the heads of hontōjin and sing. On the following day we assemble and dance, and put the heads of the hontōjin in the head stockade. We always place rice flour cakes, which our wives have pounded, into the mouths of the heads. Taking them out again, we let the children of those of us who have returned from head-hunting eat them. We make owao (78) in celebration,

78. Millet wine.

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and also go hunting. When our [42] owao is mature, we always invite everyone in the whole village. Then everyone comes and drinks our owao."